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854 753 [262] For example, if a father, living in Atu Ona, had a relative who had been killed in Hana Iapa, he must eat no food from that valley. Eating food from there would not hurt the man, but his child would become ill and probably die. If a child became ill and the parents thought [755] the sickness might be due to evil influences, the father chewed *noni* leaves 824 and spit out the remains upon the child, about the platform of the house, and on the food that was about to be eaten by the family. This ceremony was supposed to drive away evil spirits.

THE FIRST-BORN

Position and Rights

858 428 In the family of a tribal chief the first-born child, whether male or female, inherited certain civil rights, property such as lands, cultivations, house, canoes, nets, etc., and personal possessions such as clothing, ornaments, and weapons. If a chief had no children, all his personal possessions were buried with him. This custom applied similarly to first-born children in other families. The first-born male of every family was known as the *tama tapu* (sacred child) or *tama haka-iki* (chief child). This was because the first-born male, being the representative of the family ancestral stock, was chief of his family and therefore sacred. Although inheritance was either through male or female, it is evident that a male heir was regarded as more satisfactory than a female. One informant, in speaking about the position of the first-born said, "They are proud of the oldest, especially if it is a son." In adopting a child the attempt was always made to obtain a first-born boy or girl. Such an adopted child could take the place of the first-born of the family as far as all civil rights and property went; he might be given one or two articles of value as keepsakes but he could not inherit the personal possessions. If the first child of a couple were still-born, the second-born child was called *tama haka-iki* or *mo'i ha'a-te-pe'iu*.

858 [769] The importance of the first-born as representative of the family ancestral stock is illustrated best in the great *ko'ina tupapa'u*, the rite for elevation of ancestral spirits, in which it was the first-born who offered the pigs that were intended for the spirits of dead ancestors. (See Festivals.)

Since the first-born male was the representative of the ancestral stock, it would be logical to suppose that he would upon birth supersede his father as head of the family. In fact such was the custom. Garcia (14, p. 103) speaks of the immediate abdication of the father upon the birth of his first-born son, whose regent he became thereafter. The stories [539] collected on Hiva Oa and elsewhere give clear evidence of this, in the fact that a hero always ceases to play a leading rôle in a legend immediately

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

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feasts did not come at fixed intervals but were regulated by the necessity for awaiting seasons of plenty. On all these occasions offerings were made at the tomb and at the sacred place of the local god and the sacred place was bedecked. If the man whose death was celebrated were of sufficiently high class, only chiefs were allowed to partake of the feast.

KOIKA OKE

Père Pierre describes feasting, the beating of drums and chanting in connection with the *ko'ika oke*, which, according to Dordillon (9), was celebrated to bring rain or to break a famine. For a month prior to this feast, sexual intercourse was prohibited; women were forbidden to make cloth, to amuse themselves, to bathe, anoint, or decorate themselves with flowers. The *tapu* was then lifted, these restrictions removed, and the memorial festival was celebrated with feasting and general rejoicing, including undoubtedly (though this is not stated) free indulgence of the sexual instincts. At this festival many games were played, such as top spinning and making of string figures. The clothes of chiefesses were orange and those of common women yellow, baked *ena* root being used as a dye for the orange and the raw root for the yellow. At this rite the sons and daughters of chiefly families and old men and women only might dance, and all danced naked. The feasting and dancing lasted from one to ten days (9).

KO'IKA VAIHOPU

Pére Pierre (4) says that the *ko'ika vaihopu*, which was the second memorial festival, was the most famous of all. At this the participants chanted to the beating of drums and danced naked, old men and women being smeared with white earth so as to exaggerate their decreptitude. Men, women, and children were brought as though to be sacrificed as human victims, being carried entirely nude. They were not sacrificed, however, but in pantomime imitated the throes of death. Others impersonated the type of spirits called *fanaua* (see Spirits) which caused women to die in childbirth. Beyond this point the reverend father could not bring himself to continue his description, leaving it with the words "monstrosities," and "truly infernal bacchanals."

According to a Nuku Hiva informant, one feature of the *ko'ika vaihopu* was the exhibition of youths and maids. Before the feast they bleached their skins. They were dressed in all their finery and displayed themselves before the rest of the people, after which they danced. This festival, according to this informant, was celebrated only in seasons of plenty.

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KO'IKA U'UPUA

769 776 [481 526] The third of the memorial festivals described by Père Pierre (4) was the *ko'ika u'upua*, which was, according to this writer, a repetition of the *ko'ika vaihopu*, except for the feature of stilt walking. One informant at Atu Ona told me that sports, especially stilt walking, characterized particularly the *ko'ina u'upua*. Champions of different tribes challenged each other, meeting in combat on the dance area and attempting to kill one another. These sports were considered very *tapu*, women not being allowed on the feast place until after they were finished. The manner of carrying on these contests is described under Games.

HARVEST FESTIVALS

796 The Harvest festival (*ko'ina tapavau*) was marked by a great feast and general rejoicing. It was celebrated after an abundant breadfruit harvest, when the breadfruit paste had all been put down in the pits. At Taiohae the festival was held in the seasons of *ehua* and *mataiki*, but practically nothing else regarding this important festival could be learned from modern informants. Stewart (26, p. 237) speaks of it as being one of the most important of the festivals on Nuku Hiva.

This was the chief one of the rites spoken of by Garcia (14, pp. 69-70) as recurring at fixed times. In his opinion the feasts of abundance were national rather than tribal, by which he means that they were times of rejoicing and thanksgiving in which many tribes, both friends and enemies, would join. These were celebrated in the autumn because that was the time of the great harvest. At the time of the *ko'ina tapavau* the usual *tapu* prohibiting women from eating certain foods was suspended and war was prohibited. Young warriors enlivened these festivals with volleys of musketry. On the feast place there was a great abundance of provisions—roasted hogs, canoes filled with *popoi*, and all kinds of fruits. The feasting, chanting, and the gay costuming are further described. Garcia writes that at this festival thanks were given for the abundant harvest. Unfortunately he gives no details concerning rites or offerings of first fruits. That such offerings constituted an important part of the *ko'ina tapavau*, I feel certain, basing this opinion on the customs elsewhere in Polynesia, but I have no direct evidence on this point. Garcia goes on to speak of Lupercalian rites associated with other festivals (doubtless referring to the memorial festivals). I infer that there was not the general abandon at the time of the celebration of the *ko'ina tapavau*.

CANNIBALISTIC FEASTS

796 266 The *ko'ina keana* followed war, celebrating the capture of human victims. The victims that were to be offered to the gods—that is, those that

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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hands. The words of the text secured from Tahia-ti'a-ko'e, a woman on Hivaoa who had written them down from the dictation of her grandfather, the last ceremonial priest of his valley, recapitulate the conception, birth and growth of a child, linking these stages with reference to the mythical birth and emergence of the gods, who were the children of Heaven and Earth and the ancestors of all men.

As in the *pu'e*, there is in the *vavana* a continuous repetition of meaningless rhythmical phrases which I have spoken of as "words with power." The *vavana* was chanted for boys and girls. One of the most interesting features connected with the creation chants is the fact that the teaching of them to a boy or girl by a priest employed for the purpose constituted the education of the child in history and religious philosophy, while at the same time it fixed in his memory words he needed to know for his own well being in life. Several other chants of the same nature as the *vavana* were secured from Tahia-ti'a ko'e. One of these was used to consecrate a shrine that was erected for the first-born boy in the rites connected with his singing festival; and another had to do with making a sacred adz, a canoe, ornaments and clothing such as befitted an honored son, and with the preparation of a feast in his honor. The learning of these chants, which recount the technical processes of the labor they had to do with, was also educational. It is expected that these chants, some of which are of great length, will be published in native text with English translation.[9]

The sacred *uta* were choral songs with erotic words that were chanted by groups of relatives, both male and female, on the feast place at the time of memorial festivals in honor of the spirits of the departed. The use of erotic songs at these times is peculiarly interesting in its religious significance. The spirits of ancestors were believed by the Marquesans to be mediums of fertility for the people and their food; that is, the procreative activities of the relatives who had passed on into the other worlds were supposed to be intimately connected with the fertility of women on earth and that of animals and fish, trees and plants. The erotic songs intoned by the choruses were believed to rouse and engender generative energy in the ancestral gods, and to induce the needed procreational activity in them as a result of the same stimulation of desire as was felt by the human beings who sang and heard the chants. All nature, behind which the gods lurked as the creative powers, was conceived by these exuberant, full-blooded and intensely emotional people, to be responsive to the same impulsion by which they themselves were influenced, and to embody the same passions. The very existence of men

[9] Handy, E. S. Craighill, Marquesan folk-lore: B. P. Bishop Mus. Bull. in preparation.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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was believed to be dependent upon the procreational activities of the ancestral gods; and therefore erotic words, reverberating drums, and the rhythmic power of hundreds of voices, combined with pantomime and dancing calculated to stir the passions, were the means that they employed in full faith that the result would be more children and plenteous food. Other types of chants were likewise supposed to affect both men and gods, though not in just this way. Thus there were war chants calculated to fill warriors and their gods alike with fury and power to kill; and chants that aided labor. Besides the funerary chants (p. 24), various other chants were used for a number of purposes immediately after death as for strengthening the departing spirit. This particular chant also served to strengthen the spirit of a new-born child. Quite distinct from these more important religious compositions were various types of personal spells, working and fishing spells, and chants of exultation. In the ancient days, the varieties of different kinds of chants must have been very great; to have collected and studied examples of all of them would indeed have been a Herculean task requiring the talents of an ethnologist combined with unusual linguistic and musical gifts. Unfortunately the day is past when a thorough study of this kind would have been possible; and yet much could still be done with the proper facilities not only in the Marquesas, but other Polynesian islands as well.

The singing of choirs was a prominent element in Marquesan worship. The more important religious chants that accompanied the great ceremonies on the feast places and at the temples were intoned by choirs of old men spoken of as a class as the *tuhuna*, who were trained in their part of the liturgy as thoroughly and as carefully as were the priests who led the ceremonial. The choirs had a definite place and prescribed manner of seating on the feast place and temple. During their rehearsals and during their rites they were subject to the strictest tapu.

The following remarks of two Europeans who heard the singing of native choirs before the ancient civilization was broken down, may give the reader some idea of the effect of this music. Langsdorf[10] quotes as follows another member of Krusenstern's expedition who heard and described some sacred chant on Nuku Hiva:

> The same notes are sung by all, in the highest parts not going beyond the voices of boys. The music sounds throughout droning and humming, mournful and melancholy, and concludes in the manner of our choral music. It resembles strongly the melody of the Romish Kyrie Eleison, which is still sung in many German churches in the same manner as the monotonous oras of the monks.

[10] Langsdorff, G. H. von, Voyages and travels in various parts of the world during the years 1803, 1804, 1805 (p. 164), London, 1813.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

343 784 Near this dwelling house, but at ground level, there was a separate house for cooking and eating. Cooked food, being non-taboo, was kept away from the house so that it would not injure the *mana* of the house or its inhabitants. There was also a storehouse for food and for taboo objects. This was usually elaborately decorated, raised on posts, and set at some distance from the main dwelling. The old men past sexual age spent much of their time here, very often sleeping in the storehouse. The storehouse was taboo to women, and young men could enter only after a considerable period of sexual abstinence.

778 There was also, as part of each household establishment, a sacred place. Sometimes this was a small house on a high platform, sometimes only a curtained end of the sleeping house. [769] The sacred place was used in connection with the treatment of the dead, and for keeping ancestral skulls and sacred objects. [531] The dwelling house and storehouse were elaborately decorated with carvings on the posts and dyed sennit laid on in elaborate patterns on the rafters.

592 428 611 This establishment, representing a considerable outlay of labor, was inherited by the eldest child, unless the household was rich enough to build a new establishment for the heir. Even if the eldest child was a girl, she might inherit the household; there are numerous cases of women who became hereditary family heads, although households frequently adopted a boy for this position. The younger children had none save occupational rights in the household, although they did own the trees which were planted for them at the time of their birth.

592 611 [773] [564] The eldest child of either sex, or the child who was adopted to take the position of the eldest, became the official head of the household from the moment of birth or arrival. One is struck by the fact that in the Marquesan myths the story of a man always ends when his first child is born; after this event, he drops out of the picture and the saga continues with the adventures of the child. Of course, in practice, the father administered the household group until the child reached matur-

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
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764 the southern islands, the process was carried on right in the house, with the daily life of the family going on around the corpse, which lay upon a bier. The family would carry the body out into the sun and rub it down with oil, then carry it back into the house when the sun went down. When mummification was fairly complete, they dressed the body in its best clothes and seated it in a squatting position with the arms crossed and the chin on the knees. They held it in place with wooden supports and kept it sitting so in the most honored section of the house until after the memorial ceremony. The remains, usually in a fairly disreputable condition by this time, were then taken to the shrine of the tribal gods and turned over to the ceremonial priests for final disposition. No one but the priests knew what really became of these bodies. An old man who had been an assistant to a ceremonial priest told me that he had helped to carry the bodies away but was never permitted to be present at the final disposal. The heads were often removed and saved, and also a few of the long bones would be selected to be worked up into ornaments for relatives of the deceased as pleasant mementos.

769 The skulls of the chiefs were kept in the temple and brought
778 out from time to time to adorn the prows of the war canoes to give them *mana,* or were exposed in the fishing house to aid in bringing a favorable catch. Skulls of family heads were returned to the household, where they were kept in the family shrine—either a small house outside, associated with the death house, or a curtained-off end of the dwelling with shelves. Sometimes faces of bark cloth were built upon the skulls and painted with the personal tattooing of the individual.

778 Each tribe had one or more sacred places hidden far back
784 in the hills. These places were taboo to most men and to all
152 but the few highest ranking women of the tribe. The power of this taboo was demonstrated to me by a strange experience. A man of about fifty-two or three had volunteered to take me to one of these sacred places, the central shrine for one of the two big divisions of the tribes on the island of Hiva Oa. The man